[Kochinda-son]

586 Childless Couples Divorces of couples who had no children accounted for 18 cases, or one-third of the total. That there were seven instances of remarriage of the husband after the divorce leads one to the conclusion that the divorce in many cases was caused by the failure of the wife to bear a child. Of the 18 divorced wives, three had been married to men outside Kochinda-son, and three more returned to parents outside Kochinda-son.

The average age of the wife at date of divorce was 24.0 years, and the average was 25.9 years for the 15 men for whom there was complete data. There was no way to estimate the average length of the marriage, since most of them had taken place before the temporary 'koseki' was started in 1943, and the dates of marriage were therefore not recorded.

Couples with Children Divorces of couples who had had children numbered thirty-six, or two-thirds of the total postwar divorces. In three cases the husband remarried, and in two cases the wife found another husband.

The average length of marriage, based upon the elapsed time between date of first conception and divorce record date, was 5.9 years. Five women were divorced from men living outside the 'son' and four men divorced women who returned to parental homes outside the 'son'. The average age of the husband at divorce, based on thirty cases, was 33.3 years. The average age of the divorced wives was 30.8 years.

Reasons It was not possible in each case to assess the reason for the divorce, though some causes more or less suggest themselves by close analysis of the family record of all concerned. Supplemented by information from 'son' office personnel, causes are seen to include the failure to bear children, quarreling of the wife with her husband's mother and grown but unmarried sisters, the bearing of an illegitimate by the wife, the fathering of an illegitimate by the husband, the birth of several daughters but no male heir, and a bride's not being considered a good farmer.

Some of the postwar divorces grew out of social conditions consequent upon the end of the war. An Okinawan soldier demobilized in Japan would occasionally believe the rumor that all Okinawans had died in the war. He would bring back a new wife, only to arrive and find his first wife living. Sometimes he would divorce the first wife, but more often would abandon the new wife for the prewar spouse.

586 159 Divorce Histories A study of individual cases serves to illustrate how in many instances divorce may be the result of failure of one partner to live up to the norms of the society.

Case 1

Wife Haru[1], aged 21, became jealous of her husband's attention to other women. Though she had a baby daughter four months old, she divorced her husband. Seven months later she left the baby with her mother-in-law.

1 In all cases presented here personal names have been changed.

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The husband sought military employment after the divorce. Haru has now also gone to the city to find military employment because her younger brother, who is household head, became angry and said, "...even the animals know enough to suckle their young." An observer commented, "Haru is mentally deficient, so that is why she was jealous." 586 159

Case 2

Kanā at the age of 32 was Chūsei's third wife, and he was her fourth husband. His seventy-year-old mother, Ushii, had become blind as a result of the war. Kanā insulted her mother-in-law somehow. In turn Ushii insulted Kanā by saying she couldn't work very hard. Chūsei divorced Kanā for the quarrel, and she moved to an offshore island. More recently she remarried to a man two villages away, and they have two children. Her new husband fishes during the summer and works for a big sugar mill during the winter.

Case 3

The husband, Jirō, was a second son of 23 years, who had become an adopted husband, or 'yōshi'. His wife Yae, who was a common law child, bore him a son. Because he violently disliked farming he sold the land he inherited and bought a mat-making shop in Naha. His real father, killed in the war, had operated such a business. Jirō also took up a concubine in Naha.

Though she had borne Jirō a son, Yae divorced him because she didn't like the idea of a concubine, and preferred farming to life in Naha. Later Jirō sold the houselot in the village, took the house apart and reassembled it in Naha. The mat shop failed after one year. He now plans to make his living by doing nothing but renting out rooms. He married his concubine eighteen months later, after she bore him a son. Yae married a few days after the divorce, to a man from a neighboring village. She now has two sons.

Diagnosis In the first case cited above, we can see several factors that help us to understand Okinawan society. Attitudes expressed include: [593]

a) A wife should not be jealous of her husband's attention to other women;
b) A brother need not support his sister if she refuses to care for her own child; and
c) A mother's first duty is to care for her own child.

Both divorced persons eventually sought military employment. So we see that urbanization is not alone a matter of pull from the city, but contains in addition an element of being "pushed from the village". [369]

The Chūsei-Kanā divorce was brought on by an insult to the husband's mother. In Okinawa as in Japan the mother-in-law wields a good deal of authority. [606] [171]

In the third case cited, it was found that Jirō had a very bad reputation in the village because he was a 'yōshi' who sold his inherited [829]

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586 property. After that action he was called by the villagers "white ant", or
• 159 "termite". From the beginning, community feeling was behind Yae and opposed
829 to him. Circumstances of her birth carried little stigma, but his actions outraged everyone. People thought it quite natural that she should live with another man and bear his child before Jirō formally recorded the divorce in the 'koseki'. As far as the villagers were concerned, the divorce had become effective when Jirō sold his inheritance.

161 3. A Note on the Accuracy of Population Statistics in Okinawa

Much conflicting population data were encountered by the SIRI team. Hence this note is included as being of possible value to military government and to other social scientists who may work in Okinawa at a later date.

Census Figures Year-end census figures, which are based upon de facto count rather than de jure count are the most accurate, since they include all persons actually resident in the village at the time, as well as 'museki', or persons without an official local 'koseki' record.

Many times these census figures are supplemented by figures reporting both the above and all persons visiting in the village or town at the date of census. These "visitors" may include students, peddlers, guests at inns, persons in institutions, and persons visiting friends or relatives. A few examples from the 1953 statistics report of GRI are given below:

Table XXVII

Political Unit	Koseki Population	Resident Population	De Facto Population
Okinawa Guntō	649,997	627,556	637,215
Shuri-shi	22,372	21,921	23,015
Nago-chō	17,067	16,955	17,255
Goeku-son	21,065	20,931	20,749
Kochinda-son	8,738	8,504	-not given-

161 The Museki People 'Museki' is a term applied to single individuals or fami-
641 lies who are not registered in the political unit where they are living. They may maintain with varying degrees of attention and accuracy a 'koseki' elsewhere. Some simply may have no registration in a 'koseki' anywhere due to a semi-wandering life or a criminal bent. These latter are said to have no legal rights. "How can anyone have rights unless he has a 'koseki'?"

161 Ad Hoc Counts Persons who wish an accurate count of the people in any
621 village are advised to consult directly with the village headman, or 'kuchō', rather than with the 'son' office. He is in constant daily touch with village affairs, and is the most knowledgeable man to contact about village matters. Figures given by a 'kuchō', usually are the most accurate for total number of people in the village at any given time. 'Museki' persons are included, but those who are legally residents of the village and living elsewhere are not included.